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AUTHOR Albrecht, Stan L.
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ABSTRACT

Data on the social effects of boomtown growth and industrialization were collected from residents of three western communities (Craig, Colorado; Price, Utah; and Gunnison, Colorado) via a fairly detailed mail questionnaire sent to a random sample of 900. Completed questionnaires were received from 443 (a return rate of 65%). A number of different measures of community attitudes, sentiments, and local social bonds and networks were included in the research; independent variables included length of residence, age of respondent, socio-economic status, and community of residence. Length of residence did have a clear and direct effect upon community attitudes and sentiments. Newcomers to the communities studied did exhibit weaker friendship and kinship bonds and lower levels of participation in formal and informal local groups; they felt less positive about the community as a place to live, were less likely to consider it home, were less interested in community affairs, and were less likely to feel that they had a voice in community matters. The lack of "community imbeddedness" contributed importantly to the social and personal problems experienced in these communities, and that local support mechanisms tended to be inadequate to deal with the problems experienced by the new and usually young families. Longer residence might lead to a decrease in problems. (AN)

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SOCIAL PARTICIPATION, COMMUNITY ATTACHMENT, AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE RAPIDLY INDUSTRIALIZING RURAL COMMUNITY

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by

Stan L. Albrecht

Department of Sociology

Brigham Young University

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SOCIAL PARTICIPATION, COMMUNITY ATTACHMENT, AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE RAPIDLY INDUSTRIALIZING RURAL COMMUNITY

The effects of the forces of urbanization and industrialization on the social fabric of communities as well as on the quality of life of individual community residents has long been of concern to the sociologist (see, for example, Wirth, 1938; Axelrod, 1956; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) note that two models have come to dominate the work of social scientists in this area. They refer to the first as the linear model because of the assumption that linear increases in population size and density are the primary factors that influence patterns of social behavior. As they note, this model clearly has its intellectual roots in Toennies' (1887) concepts of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft. "In this view, urbanization and industrialization alter the essential character of society from that based on communal attachments to an associational basis" (p. 328). Urbanization and industrialization are thus assumed to lead to increased population size and density which, in turn, lead to a breakdown in primary group ties, decreasing attachment to community, greater reliance on secondary institutional supports as opposed to family and kin, and so on (Wirth, 1938).

The second model grew out of the work of other early University of Chicago sociologists such as Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess (1921, 1925) and finds strong empirical support in the research of Axelrod (1956), Bell and Boat (1957), and Adams (1968), among others. This model, called the systemic model by Kasarda and Janowitz, recognizes extensive primary

group ties and informal networks in the urbanized community that are quite contrary to the notion of gesellschaft. "The local community is viewed as a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going socialization processes" (p. 329).

The preponderance of empirical evidence supports the second model. For example, Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) found that residents of communities characterized by increased size and density did not exhibit weaker bonds of kinship and friendship. Neither did location in such communities result in the substitution of secondary for primary and informal ties nor significantly weaker local community sentiments. However, one finds in the work of Kasarda and Janowitz an explicit focus on a variable that was often ignored in earlier work in this area--length of residence. These researchers found that the best predictor of community attachments and the development of social bonds was the amount of time the respondent had resided in the community.

The importance of this factor is evidenced by another line of research which clearly indicates that communities characterized by rapid population growth and change do frequently experience increased levels of social pathology, a breakdown of primary group ties and controls, and other related social problems. This was illustrated in Shaw and McKay's (1942) classic study of juvenile delinquency in Chicago. In discussing the rapid growth that occurred in Chicago around the turn of the century, they note:

> This . . . rapid territorial expansion and geometric increase in the population of Chicago implies marked changes in the areas within the city and a rate of mobility quite unknown in stable communities. Likewise, the influx of great numbers of people of such widely

> different social and cultural backgrounds implies not only lack of homegeneity but also disorganization and reorganization affecting a large proportion of the population (p. 25).

In describing the social characteristics of those areas of Chicago that exhibited the highest rates of juvenile delinquency, Shaw and McKay note:

> Certain areas . . . lack the homogeneity and continuity of cultural traditions and institutions which are essential to social solidarity, neighborhood organization and an effective public opinion. . . . The economic insecurity of the families, the tendency for the family to escape from the area as soon as they prosper sufficiently to do so, all combine to render difficult, if not impossible, the development of a stable and effective form of neighborhood organization in these sections of the city (1942: 110).

Perhaps the problem is that we are dealing with two rather different issues. In terms of the classic characteristics of gesellschaft, urbanized and industrialized areas may not be particularly different from more rural communities once they have become stabilized. That is, individual residents do feel a certain degree of attachment to the community, they do maintain significant informal and primary ties with kin and friends, and so on. At the same time, communities or areas of communities characterized by the rapid social change that accompanies urbanization and industrialization do experience at least a temporary breakdown in many of the traditional social support mechanisms that contribute to such things as community stability, individual identification with community, and quality of life. Thus, areas of cities like Chicago that were experiencing rapid social change including growth, changing ethnic character resulting from the influx of European immigrants, southern blacks, and so on, were also characterized by high rates of juvenile delinquency, crime, and other

important social pathologies. On the other hand, areas characterized by less social change had the time to stabilize, individuals re-established important primary ties with kin and neighbors, came to identify with community, and developed an overall more stable character that, in turn, was reflected in much lower rates of crime and related social problems. Some empirical support for this is found in the work of Shaw and McKay (1942). Areas of Chicago where blacks have resided for the longest period of time have exhibited some stabilization and have experienced decreasing rates of juvenile delinquency. On the other hand, areas experiencing more recent black invasion have continued to exhibit higher delinquency rates.

On a smaller scale in terms of actual numbers of people affected, but on a much larger scale in terms of rapidity of growth and the number of communities affected, many typically rural areas of the western portion of the United States are now experiencing the processes of industrialization and urbanization that was experienced earlier in cities such as Chicago. This growth is occurring primarily because these communities are becoming a principle source of energy (in the form of coal, uranium, and electrical power) for the rest of the country. Coincident with the growth has been a dramatic increase in social problems and personal and family pathologies that appear rather directly related to the breakdown in community discussed by many early sociologists. In this paper we provide another look at the models that have developed to explain the effect of urbanization and industrialization on the fabric of communities and the quality of life of their inhabitants. In so doing, we also attempt to provide an antidote to the atheoretical nature of most of the work being done in these modern boomtowns.

A Brief Characterization of the Contemporary Boomtown

It is now estimated that as many as 250 largely rural communities of the West and the Northern Plains are experiencing or will experience rapid growth and industrialization from the expanded exploitation of such energy resources as coal, uranium, oil shale, tar sands, and geothermal power sources and from the construction of large electrical power generating facilities from which power will be exported to more heavily populated regions of the country. The traditional economies of most of these areas have been based on agriculture, though some have been affected by past developments associated with mining, the construction of railroads, tourism, and so on. However, almost without exception, these areas exhibit a remarkably similar demographic pattern of significant outmigration of population over a several decade period. For example, in an analysis of 15 counties projected to experience rapid industrialization in the states of Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming, Albrecht (1978) found that 12 of the 15 counties had smaller populations in 1970 than in 1940. In fact, many of the counties had larger populations in 1910 than in 1970.

When these past patterns are combined with projected growth rates for the future, the critical nature of potential social impacts becomes even more evident. Some of these areas have recently experienced annual growth rates of almost 20 percent per year. Others are projected to experience population increases of as much as 800 percent by the middle 1980's. Thus, we are talking not just about a reversal of past population patterns and trends, but about a rate of change that is clearly beyond anything previously experienced in these communities.

The simple fact of rapid population growth, however, is probably not the most important change that is occurring. These communities have also exhibited a high level of homogeneity in terms of ethnicity, religious orientation, cultural values, and so on. They have also developed comfortable and stable ways of dealing with their world. As noted by Freudenburg, et al. (1977: 4-5):

> Over the four or five generations that these towns have been inhabited, the residents have developed a fairly impressive set of informal mechanisms--or "natural systems," if you will--for performing social functions and generally taking care of one another. These mechanisms tend to be of the sort that sociologists can find nearly everywhere (to name a few noteworthy examples, they are ways of controlling deviance, socializing the young, giving people a sense of place, purpose, and personal worth, and taking care of the communities' weaker members and/or those in need or under stress).

Yet, in the boomtowns,

> In what is probably the most characteristic single consequence of the large-scale impact process, these rather finely-tuned (and surprisingly delicately-balanced) arrangements are simply blown apart--scattered to the four winds by the sudden arrival of more new people than can be contained within them. The process requires no plotting, no nastiness--only numbers. The result is that a people who once took care of one another in a naturally-evolving and in fact almost automatic way--for they are often not even aware of doing so--are suddenly left with some very important machinery that's simply inoperative.

These communities clearly are experiencing the processes of industrialization and urbanization in ways that have serious consequences for their ability to maintain their social fabric and a satisfactory quality of life for their residents. The informal mechanisms that supported and sustained area residents in the past are being broken down and while they will eventually be replaced by other mechanisms in the future, the period before that occurs will be one of serious community crisis.

In a summary of the processes of change that have already occurred in many of these communities, Cortese and Jones (1977: 85) provide an overview that reminds one again of the movement from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft as discussed in the traditional community literature:

1) The communities become more culturally diverse resulting from the inmigration of new people with different backgrounds and traditions. This tends to result in such related changes as demands for an expanded school curriculum, increased recreational opportunities, a multiplication of religious denominations, new life styles, and so on.

2) Diversity leads to less provincialism and isolation.

3) Community institutions tend to become more formal and professional in their orientation. For example, a new police chief with more formal training may be hired, and so on.

4) This leads, in turn, to greater specialization and bureaucratization in these community institutions.

5) Institutional growth contributes to the belief that bigger is better. Chain operations replace local shops and grocery stores.

6) This trend, in turn, leads to greater centralization. The boomtown with its new chain operations now becomes the trade center for an expanding geographic area.

7) The profit motive is sometimes strengthened as local property values skyrocket, wages increase, and increased stratification and differentiation occur.

8) Finally, people come to rely more on formal institutions. Family problems, once handled at home, are now taken to the local counseling clinic. Neighboring declines as the make-up of local neighborhoods changes, and so on.

The changes in these communities are very real and parallel changes that occurred in the industrializing cities of yesteryear. The magnitude of the social problems that are being experienced is indicative of the fact that they are not simply a result of population growth but that a very real multiplier effect is occurring. For example, in Rock Springs, Wyoming, the mental health case load went up 900 percent while the population was doubling (Gilmore, 1979). In Craig, Colorado, during a three-year period when the population increased by 100 percent, the local rate of crimes against property went up 220 percent, crimes against persons increased 900 percent, family disturbances rose 250 percent, child behavior problems increased 1000 percent, alcohol-related complaints rose 550 percent, and other drug-related reports increased by 1400 percent (Freudenburg, 1978; Kassinger and McKeon, 1979). Similar problems have occurred in a range of other boom-growth communities.

It is important to note that a fairly extensive amount of research has been and is being conducted in many of these areas by sociologists and other social scientists as part of the federally mandated social impact assessment process. However, the vast majority of this work has dealt with logistical considerations such as how many people will be brought into the community and what kinds of facilities and services will be required to meet their needs (Freudenburg, 1978). While these are important questions, one has to recognize that the impacts on the social systems of these communities can be of far greater magnitude than the impacts on the sewer systems. While the former may be less visible, they are considerably more important. It is also important to note that while changes in service delivery systems can sometimes be made with at least a relative degree of ease and speed--for example, new schools can

be built with the expanding tax base--these changes may even exacerbate the problems of impact on the social fabric of the community. As noted by Cortese and Jones (1977: 87), impacts in this latter area

> . . . are not seriously mediated by providing more "adequate" housing, by "professionalizing" the police department, or by building a mental health center. Such solutions are, in fact, parts of the problem. That is, such innovations add to the process of increasing anonymity, differentiation, centralization, impersonalization, specialization, and orientation of local community units toward extracommunity systems.

In other words, the formal, tax-supported mechanisms that are developed to replace the informal mechanisms in these communities don't seem to do nearly as well as what they replace.

Research Procedures

As noted above, some research has been conducted in the energy boomtowns in response to the social impact assessment process. In large part, this work is atheoretical, stresses economic and demographic impacts, and virtually ignores impacts on the fabric of community with their resulting quality of life consequences. To help fill this important gap, fairly detailed research has been conducted under the auspices of an energy research consortium in several western communities that are in various stages of growth associated with energy resource development. The variables selected for analysis are developed from the empirical and theoretical literature on community change and are designed to allow us to answer some important questions regarding the social impacts of industrialization and urbanization on the affected communities. Additionally, the data were collected to allow us to say something about the research models described in earlier portions of this paper.

Data for this phase of the research were collected from residents of three communities in Western Colorado and Eastern Utah. The communities can be described briefly as follows:

Craig, Colorado. Craig, Colorado is the county seat of a large county of 4,743 square miles that forms the northwest corner of the state. In 1973, the population of Craig was about 4,500 people. Area residents have traditionally relied quite heavily on agricultural pursuits, basically farming and ranching. In 1974, construction was begun on a large, coal-burning power generation facility just a few miles outside Craig. By 1977, 1900 construction workers were employed at the plant and the overall population of Craig had risen to approximately 10,000 people. The city budget during this period rose from $800,000 to $5,000,000. By 1977, it was clear that the town was experiencing many of the negative impacts that have come to be associated with other western boomtowns. In addition, the existence of large deposits of coal and the proximity to potentially rich oil shale deposits seemed to indicate that Craig's boom was not of a temporary nature but that the area would continue to grow at a rapid rate for the immediately forseeable future.

Price, Utah. Price is located in Carbon County in the Southeastern portion of the state of Utah. Unlike most other rural counties in Utah, the economy of Carbon County has long been more closely tied with coal mining than with agriculture. In 1930, 44.5 percent of all persons employed in the county worked for the coal industry. From about 1920, however, until recently, there has been a steady decline in coal production and prices with a corresponding decrease in county population. During the past five years, there has been a major resurgence of the coal industry and Price and surrounding communities have grown rapidly. Between 1970

and 1975, the population of Price and its neighboring towns in Carbon County had risen from 15,647 to over 18,000. The rate of growth is obviously much smaller than that for Craig, Colorado. Additionally, Price has had a history of having to respond to growth and decline associated with the mining industry. The latest boom is, nonetheless, having some important impacts on the community and its inhabitants.

Gunnison, Colorado. Unlike the other two communities, the energy boom is yet to hit Gunnison with its full force. Some changes are occurring as a result of coal, natural gas, oil, and other energy fuel explorations. However, Gunnison has remained a fairly stable community for several years. Like Craig, its economy has been quite closely tied to agriculture, particularly farming and ranching. Many of the younger inhabitants have migrated out to seek employment and educational opportunities elsewhere. Nevertheless, Gunnison lies in an area that is rich in potential for coal, oil shale, and other natural resource development. The boom may be a bit later but is still coming.

Data for the study were collected via a fairly detailed mail questionnaire that was sent to a sample of 900 respondents, 300 of whom were drawn randomly from the most recent telephone directories for each of the three communities.[1] After eliminating business addresses, all names were assigned a number and the sample was drawn using a computer-generated list of random numbers. The specific procedure used for the mail survey was a modified form of the highly successful technique adopted by Dillman and his colleagues (Dillman, et al., 1974). A copy of the questionnaire was sent to each respondent, along with a cover letter detailing the purpose of the study and its importance in understanding the processes of social change in communities being affected by rapid energy-related growth. The

letter concluded with an appeal to the recipient to complete the questionaire and return it in an enclosed stamped, addressed envelope. Approximately two weeks after the initial questionnaire was sent, a follow-up letter was mailed to each person who had not already returned the questionnaire. The follow-up letter elicited a number of cards and telephone calls from respondents who said they had never received the initial questionnaire or, having received it, had misplaced or discarded the original copy. A copy of the complete initial packet of materials was immediately sent to these persons.

After another three week interval, a third mailing went out to all persons who still had not responded. The third mailing was sent via registered mail, thus requiring the respondent to sign for the packet. This mailing included another copy of the questionnaire and another cover letter which emphasized the importance of the study and appealed again for the recipient to fill out the questionnaire and return it in an enclosed envelope.

A total of 215 respondents had to be eliminated from the original sample because the questionnaires were not deliverable, primarily because the person had moved from the community. With the fairly rapid employment turnover in these communities, this figure is not particularly surprising. Other reasons why the questionnaires were not delivered included some incomplete addresses and nine of the original sample members were deceased. Of the remaining 677 members of the sample, completed questionnaires were received from 443 for a return rate of 65 percent. This rate varied only very slightly by community with a low of 64 percent in Craig, Colorado, and a high of 67 percent in Price, Utah. Slightly over half of the completed questionnaires were received in response to the

first mailing and the follow-up letter. The remainder were received in response to the certified letter. Of the 234 nonrespondents, 26 wrote back indicating that they did not desire to participate in the study. Most of these cited problems associated with old age such as difficulties with seeing and reading the questionnaire. No response of any kind was received from the remainder. The overall response rates compare favorably with other research using this type of research design.

Measurement of Variables

Following Kasarda and Janowitz (1974), a number of different measures of community attitudes, sentiments, and local social bonds were included in the research. These can be described as follows:

Community attitudes and sentiments. Five questions were used to measure the attitudes and sentiments of the respondents toward their communities. These were as follows:

1. If "10" represents the BEST possible community in which you could hope to live and "1" represents the WORST, where would you place your present community?
2. Do you consider the community where you now live home?
3. How interested are you in things that go on in this community?
4. Do you feel you have a voice in what goes on in this community and that your views are adequately represented?
5. Suppose that for some reason you had to move away. How sorry or pleased would you be to leave?

The first question was followed by a ten-point scale that the respondents used to evaluate their community as best or worst. The second

called for a yes-no response. Item three included a five-point scale ranging from very interested in things that go on in the community to not at all interested. Items four and five also used five-point scales ranging from definitely yes to definitely no, and from very sorry to very pleased.

Local community bonds and networks. Several indicators were used to assess the degree of involvement of the individual in local community networks. Friendship and kinship bonds were measured with the following questions:

1. How many people would you say you know on a first-name basis who live in this community?

2. How many adult friends do you have who live within a ten-minute ride of your home?

3. How many adult relatives and in-laws do you have who live within a ten-minute ride of your home?

4. Taking all your adult friends that you now have, what percent of them would you say live in this community?

5. Taking all your adult relatives and in-laws, what percent of them live in this community?

Item one was dichotomized into two groups--those who knew none or only a few people on a first-name basis and those who said they knew a larger number. The second question was categorized into those having five or fewer adult friends living within a ten-minute ride of their home and those having more than five adult friends. The third was similarly categorized into those having two or fewer adult relatives and in-laws within a ten-minute ride and those having more than two. Our operationalization of this variable differs rather significantly from that of Kasarda and Janowitz. Because of the wide-open spaces of the West, relatively few

people have a significant number of friends or relatives within a ten-minute walk of their home. The ten-minute ride seemed more appropriate. Questions four and five were categorized into those having half or more of their relatives and friends residing in their community and those having fewer than half.

Participation and involvement in formal associations and informal groups and clubs was determined by a rather detailed question also patterned after the research of Kasarda and Janowitz. Specifically, participation in the following types of groups and organizations was determined:

1. Organizations connected with the respondent's work such as trade unions, business clubs, and professional associations.
2. Public bodies or committees concerned with community affairs.
3. Organizations connected with politics.
4. Organizations connected with education and training.
5. Churches or other religious groups.
6. Civic or community groups.
7. Social clubs such as sport teams, bowling group, dance club, hobby club, etc.
8. Any other club or organization not described above.

Participation in each of these types of groups or organizations was measured using a four-point scale ranging from weekly or more frequent participation to never. In addition, respondents were asked to specify whether their participation was inside or outside the local community.

Our primary independent variable is length of residence in the community. We hypothesize that community attitudes and sentiments, as well as friendship, kinship, and associational bonds, will be directly

affected by length of community residence. This variable was operationalized by dividing the sample into four categories: (1) those who have resided in their community for less than one year, (2) those who have been in the community one to two years, (3) those who have been in the community three to five years, and (4) those who have lived in the community for longer than five years.

Other important independent variables whose impact on community sentiments and kinship, friendship, and associational bonds will be assessed include age of respondent, socio-economic status, and community of residence. The latter is important because of the differences noted above in the three study communities.

Results

We began our analysis with the assumption that the tangible and intangible forces involved in what the sociologist calls "community" have important implications for the everyday quality of life of individuals. We also proposed that many of the social problems associated with large-scale energy development in rural communities of the West are directly or indirectly attributable to the breakdown of "community"; that is, as a direct function of rapid growth and the diversification of the local economy and the composition of the local population, the community loses, at least temporarily, its ability to provide its inhabitants such things as a sense of place, purpose, identity, personal worth, and so on.

Our attempts to assess this question have been, of necessity, indirect and have relied on the utilization of surrogate measures. We do know that these communities have experienced rapidly increasing occurrences of social problems and personal pathologies reflected in higher crime and delinquency rates, increased frequency of drug and alcohol abuse, the

increased incidence of suicide and family conflict, and so on. Our current data set, however, does not allow us to measure the direct effect of such things as sense of community on these rates. However, if the lower rates of pathology that occurred in the past can be attributed to the operation of "natural systems" that emerge in communities, then length of residence becomes a critical factor and we would anticipate that new residents would have less commitment to, less involvement in, and less of a sense of community than, older residents. This, in turn, should result in their expression of less happiness and less satisfaction with life than older residents. It should also result in fewer social constraints on non-normative behavior and fewer informal support mechanisms which traditionally aid people in responding to the problems and difficulties of life.

It is obvious from our data that length of residence does have a clear and direct effect upon community attitudes and sentiments. This can be seen from a brief examination of responses to the questions described earlier. When we divide our sample into the four groups described above we find a strong positive relationship between length of residence and community sentiments. When asked to rate their community from "best possible community" to "worst", 50 percent of those living in the area more than five years gave a "best" rating (score of 8, 9, or 10). On the other hand, of those living in the community less than a year, 29 percent gave a "best" rating.

A clear majority of all residence groups defined their community as "home". However, this varied from 95 percent of the long-time residents to 78 percent of the newer residents. Similarly, nearly twice as many of the over-five-year residents indicated that they were "very interested" in things that go on in their community as compared with those who had lived

there under a year. The old-time residents were also much more likely to feel that they had a voice in what goes on in their community and that their views were adequately represented. Forty-nine percent of those living in the community over five years felt adequately represented, while this was true of just 22 percent of the newer residents.

It has been argued that the relatively temporary stay of many of the construction workers who move into the boom towns of the West effectively inhibits their interest and involvement in the local community. That is, since this will not be their permanent home, why should they expend a great deal of energy to become involved in community affairs and to make the community a better place to live? Bickert (1974) found that commitment to the welfare of the community goes hand-in-hand with long-time residence and a position of higher social status. Similarly, Doran, Duff, and Gilmore (1974) found that many newcomers live on the fringe of the community, often in temporary trailer settlements, and so never become highly integrated into the community or participate to a high degree in its affairs. Our findings generally support these conclusions: newcomers feel less positively about the community as a place to live, are less likely to consider it home, are less interested in community affairs, and are less likely to feel that they have a voice in the community or that it represents their views.

The systemic model discussed by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) also implies that local friendship, kinship, and associational ties contribute to more positive community sentiments. We also proposed that the development of these types of bonds would be directly related to length of residence in the community.

The data strongly support the link between friendship and kinship bonds and length of residence. For example, when length of residence was

compared with percent of friends who reside in the local community, 77 percent of those living in the community more than five years reported that half or more of their friends resided in their same town. On the other hand, only 27 percent of those residing in the community less than a year said half or more of their friends resided in that same town. The two intermediate length of residence categories fell about halfway between these two extremes.

A much smaller percentage of each of the groups reported that half or more of their relatives resided in their community. Nevertheless, the effect of length of residence was strongly positive. For example, while just six percent of those in the community for less than a year said that half or more of their relatives lived there, this was true of over five times as many (33 percent) of the long-time residents.

To this point in our analysis we have found that newcomers to the rapidly-industrializing communities that were studied exhibit less favorable attitudes toward the community, are less interested in its affairs, and feel less certain that it represents their feelings and concerns than old-timers. Additionally, they are less likely to report that significant percentages of their close friends and relatives reside nearby.

When we turn to an examination of the respondent's participation and involvement in formal organizations and associations in the community, we observe some most interesting differences. For work organizations, organizations associated with community affairs, and political organizations, there is a direct linear relationship between level of participation and involvement for the first three length of residence categories. That is, those who have been in the community one to two years participate more

than those who have been there less than one year, and those who have been in the community three to five years participate more than those who have been there one to two years. However, those living in the community more than five years exhibit a lower overall level of participation than any of the other three groups, including the recent newcomers. The obvious factor here is age. Our old-timers tend to be significantly older than the other three groups and so their decline in level of participation in formal associations is not unpredictable.

On the other hand, the newcomers exhibit the highest level of participation in educational, church, and civic organizations. This seems to reflect two basic factors: (1) in terms of educational associations, the newcomers tend to reflect a fairly high level of concern about the quality of local schools and are committed to improving the schools because of the consequences of this for their own children; (2) the newcomers exhibit higher levels of education, income, and occupational status. Therefore, one would expect a high level of participation in certain types of organizations and associations. Particularly the management level people who come in to run the power plants and construction operations should begin to show up fairly early as members of boards of civic and related organizations.

However, there is one other very important factor involved here. Each respondent was asked to indicate if his or her participation in the above organizations occurred within or outside the local community. A significant percentage of the participation of newcomers--ranging from 75 percent for work organizations to 29 percent for church organizations --occurred outside the local community. Except for work organizations, no more than eight percent of any of the other three groups reported their participation to be outside the local community.

The overall pattern here, then, confirms that reported for community sentiments and friendship and kinship bonds. Even when newcomers report higher levels of participation in formal organizations and associations, a significant percentage of this occurs at the extra-local level. In other words, their efforts and interests are focused to a large extent outside the local community and their overall involvement within still tends to be quite limited.

In conclusion, newcomers to the communities studied do exhibit weaker friendship and kinship bonds and lower levels of participation in formal and informal local organizations and associations. It is our contention that this lack of "community imbeddedness" does contribute importantly to the social and personal problems that are being experienced in these communities. Many of the immigrant families are young and have young children. Because of inadequate supplies of local housing, they are often forced to live in unattractive fringe trailer court settlements without lawns and other amenities. When problems occur (i.e., the birth of a new child, work problems, husband-wife disagreements, etc.), local social support mechanisms tend to be inadequate--family members tend not to live locally, fewer friendship bonds have been established, and so on. The consequence, in many instances, is likely to be increased drinking, more serious marital discord, depression and suicide, and so on. We would argue that these rates are not likely to be seriously affected by the construction of new schools or by the completion of the local sewer system. They are, however, likely to be changed by the emergence of a sense of community which includes greater friendship and kinship bondedness and increased participation in and commitment to local institutions. Perhaps, more than anything else, longevity will contribute to the development of the latter.

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